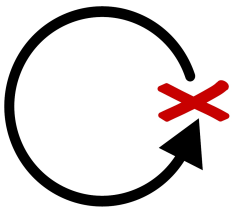




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METOIKOS Project

CIRCULAR MIGRATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO: SOMETHING MORE THAN AGRICULTURAL WORK?

Carmen González Enríquez
Miquel Reynés Ramón

Real Instituto Elcano



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
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Printed in Italy
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
www.eui.eu
cadmus.eui.eu

The METOIKOS Research Project

Circular migration patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and opportunities for migrants and policy makers

The METOIKOS project looks at circular migration patterns in three European regions: southeastern Europe and the Balkans (Greece, Italy and Albania); southwestern Europe and the Maghreb (Spain, Italy and Morocco); and Central Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine). More specifically, METOIKOS studies the links between different types of circular migration and processes of integration (in the country of destination) and reintegration (in the source country). It identifies the main challenges and opportunities involved in circular migration for source countries, destination countries and migrants (and their families) and develops new conceptual instruments for the analysis of circular migration and integration. The project will develop policy recommendations (a Guide for Policy Makers, available in 10 European languages) for local, regional and national policy makers as to how to frame circular migration with appropriate (re-)integration policies. It will also organise three Regional Workshops (on Spain, Italy and Morocco; on Greece, Italy and Albania; and on Poland, Hungary and Ukraine). The project will foster online discussion on circular migration with a view to raising awareness about the challenges and advantages of circular mobility in the wider EU Neighbourhood and the Euro-Mediterranean region more generally.

The METOIKOS project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu). The project is co-funded by the European Fund for Integration of Third Country Nationals, Community Actions, 2008.

The EUI and the RSCAS are not responsible for the opinion expressed by the author(s)

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Abstract

Circular migration between Morocco and Spain is currently restricted to a very narrow labour niche, the temporary agricultural work. Despite the geographical proximity between the two countries and the large number of Moroccan immigrants on Spanish soil, circular migration characterises only a minimal part of the migratory phenomenon. Other forms of circularity found in close and similar countries also related with Morocco, as Italy, are not present in Spain due to a variety of geographical and institutional reasons. The short periods Moroccan circular migrants spend in Spain and the low qualification of their jobs result in a small effect on development on origin. The report presents proposals to enlarge the scope of circular migration and open it to more qualified jobs.

Keywords

Circular migration, Morocco, Spain, temporary migration, agricultural migration

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1. Introduction: Framing Moroccan migration to Spain

The frontier between Spain and Morocco –the Mediterranean Sea, the Straits of Gibraltar and the fences which surround Ceuta and Melilla– separates two social and economic worlds. Spain's per capita GDP in 2010 was 10 times that of Morocco, a difference much greater than that separating the US and Mexico (five times). When labour migration became a visible phenomenon in Spain, during the 1990s, Moroccan workers comprised the largest single national group and the image of small boats arriving at the Andalusian coast full of young Moroccan males, irregular migrants, were frequent in the media. Although during the following decade Moroccans were outnumbered by Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans, for years afterwards they continued to dominate the Spanish public's image of immigration.

Morocco is also a stepping stone for Sub-Saharan immigrants on their way to Europe. They arrive in Morocco from Algeria and attempt to cross the Mediterranean Sea or to enter Ceuta or Melilla by climbing the fences which surround both cities and which were built in 1995 to halt them. In 1992 a re-admission agreement was signed between Spain and Morocco to return the third country irregular migrants who arrived in Spain from Morocco, but the latter has never implemented the accord. Until 2006 almost all of these migrants were nationals of Sub-Saharan countries with which Spain had not signed repatriation agreements. For that reason, once they managed to cross the fence, their stay in Spain was assured (Soddu, 2002). The fences were reinforced in 2005 and from then such entries have almost ceased. As for Sub-Saharan migrants crossing the Mediterranean from Morocco, since 2003 EU conditionality in its relations with Morocco has led to the effective involvement of Moroccan police forces in the surveillance of its coasts to prevent the departure from them of irregular migrants. Since then Sub-Saharans moved south and east, with boats starting out from Mauritania and Senegal aimed for the Canary Island or from Libya to Italy. The persistence of Moroccan cooperation in the prevention of irregular departures from its coasts is of vital importance for Spain and for the whole Schengen Area, with Morocco suffering from migratory pressure from the south while lacking incentives and financial and human resources to control the flow.

Although the presence of 750,000 Moroccans in Spain is the most visible face of the relationship between the two countries, both historical and present-day factors create a dense and complex network of shared interests, economic rivalry, political cooperation, territorial conflict and mistrust.

Among the elements of conflict, the Moroccan claim on Ceuta and Melilla stands out. These two small cities on the North-African coast, bounded by Moroccan territory and the Mediterranean Sea, have belonged to the Spanish Crown since the 15th and 17th centuries, respectively. Since 1986 they have formed the only European Union territory on mainland Africa (although they are not part of the Schengen Area). The Kingdom of Morocco has claimed sovereignty over the 'enclaves' since its independence in 1956 but the United Nations does not consider the cities colonies, as they have been inhabited by Spaniards since well before Morocco became a Kingdom. Their population, of 76,000 in Ceuta and 65,000 in Melilla, is increasingly being made up of Muslims of Moroccan origin who gain Spanish citizenship, in a trend which is altering the social and political life of the cities. The Moroccan sovereignty claim is constant but its vocal expression by the Moroccan media, parties and government depends on developments or expectations in other aspects of the two countries' mutual relationship (Pérez González, 2004; Planet, 1998; González Enríquez, 2007).

Agricultural competition, the use of Moroccan waters by Spanish fishermen and Spanish support for Western Saharan claims for independence are also a continual source of confrontation. Spain and Morocco are competitors in the world agricultural market, as exports are concentrated on the same types of fruits and vegetables, and they are involved in an international legal conflict involving fisheries. A good part of the Spanish fishing industry off the coast of Andalusia and the Canary Islands

have suffered a strong cutback in recent years due to Morocco's refusal to renew the agreement allowing Spanish boats to fish in its waters in exchange for financial compensation.

As for the Western Sahara, since the end of its colonial rule over the territory in 1976, the Spanish State has maintained its international support for the Polisario Front's vindication of Saharan independence from the Kingdom of Morocco. During the last few years the Spanish government's support for a referendum of self-determination (the UN's proposal to resolve the conflict) has lost strength and has been combined with the acceptance of the Moroccan proposal of Saharan autonomy within the Moroccan state, in a framework of regionalisation of its entire territory. But Spanish public opinion still shows a broad-based support for the cause of Saharan independence and several very active associations are devoted to it.

All these tensions between Morocco and Spain have given rise to a climate of mutual distrust and rivalry (Del Pino, 2002 & 2003; González del Miño, 2005; Planet & Ramos, 2005). On the other hand, counteracting these tensions, in recent years a growing economic and political mutual dependence has arisen: Spain is Morocco's second-largest investor and trade partner in after France,¹ Ceuta and Melilla are indirectly promoting economic growth in the neighbouring Moroccan areas and the Kingdom of Morocco needs Spanish cooperation, or at least neutrality, in its approach to the European Union. Spain has been one of the main supporters of Morocco's inclusion in the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy, which was first designed to cope with East European countries that had no expectations of becoming EU members. Spain was also the main European promoter of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (known as the 'Barcelona Process'), designed in 1995 to foster relations between the southern members of the European Union and North African countries. Political and police cooperation against Islamic terrorism is also significant and of great importance for both countries since the Casablanca terrorist attack of 2003 and the Madrid attack of 2004.

In this context of conflict, cooperation and mutual dependence, immigration is something more than a demographic movement with an impact on the labour market, the welfare state and cultural life: it is also a tool in the arena of international relations.

2. Features of Moroccan migration to Spain²

The Moroccan community is the oldest of the contemporary and economically-motivated migratory populations settled in Spain. It was in the mid-1980s that Moroccans began to settle in certain areas of the Spanish Mediterranean coast and from 1998 to 2008 it was Spain's largest single migratory community. In January 2010 there were 754.000 Moroccan citizens living in Spain (1.6% of the entire population), although by then the Rumanians already outnumbered them by around 80.000 (Padrón Municipal, INE).

As regards their socio-demographic traits, Spain's Moroccan-born population is mainly, and comparatively, young (between 25 and 45 years of age), male and married (64%). The two latter factors might indicate a pattern of migration that consists of the prior arrival of the husband, followed some time later by the wife and maybe children. Households are larger (4.03 people per household) than those of Moroccans living in other European countries and the trend is similar as regards fertility rates, which are at an average of 2.75 children. The educational level of Moroccan immigrants is low compared to other groups, whether other immigrants in Spain or Moroccans living in other countries:

¹ If irregular frontier trade through Ceuta and Melilla is also taken into account, Spain is Morocco's leading trading partner.

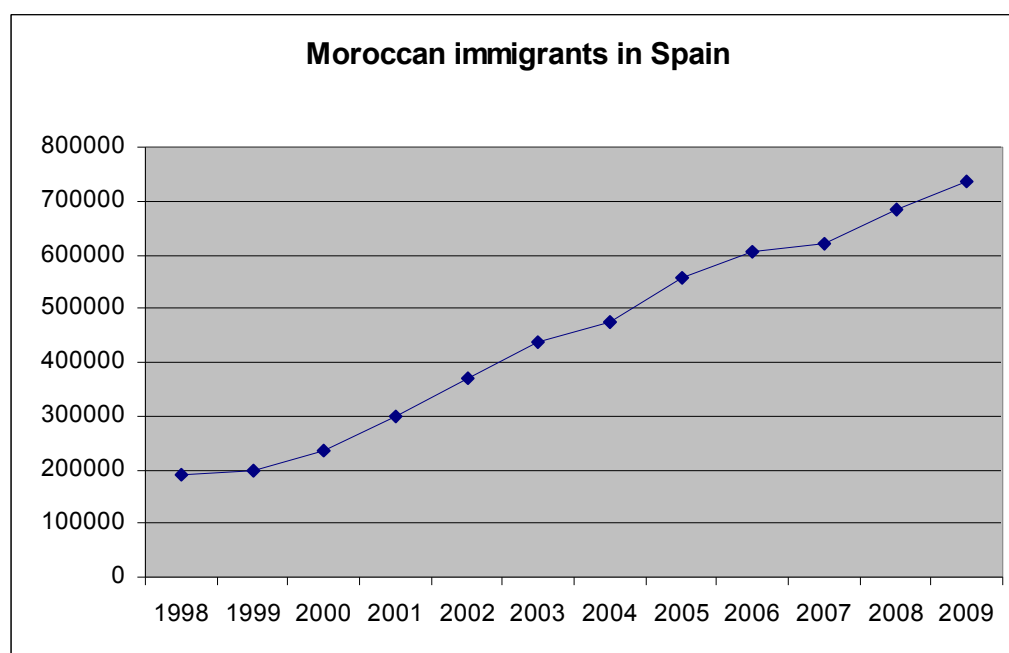
² For a more complete description of Moroccan migration to Spain see Gonzalez Enriquez, C., and Reyes, M. (2010), 'Circular Migration between Morocco and Spain', METOIKOS Background Report, available at <http://metoikos.eui.eu>.

illiteracy rates and the percentage of people lacking a formal education are high (20% and 21%, respectively), while the percentage of Moroccans with higher education is low (10% of those living in Spain) (Cebolla & Requena, 2009).

The integration of Moroccans in the labour market is related to some of the socio-demographic traits just described. The activity rates of men are high while those of women are very low (one in three); Moroccan men are mainly employed in the construction sector, followed by agriculture (33%) and services. This distribution is different to that of other populations, whose presence in the agricultural sector is far lower. Accordingly, qualified migration is almost non-existent among Moroccan immigrants in Spain.

The data show that most Moroccan immigrants settled in Spain (76%) usually send remittances, as shown by the results of the ENI (*Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes*), a poll conducted in 2006. The Spanish Central Bank estimated the total amount of these remittances at €528 million in 2007. However, other sources, such as the Moroccan *Office des Changes* calculated a much larger amount of around €800 million (Moré, 2009), although its estimates include the use of informal remittance channels.

The consequences of the international economic crisis have been especially serious in Spain (in 2010 unemployment reached 20% for the country's Spanish population and 30% for foreigners), but the Moroccan-born population is suffering it to a greater extent than the average (Arango & González, 2009). A recent report shows that from 2007 to 2010 (both data refer to the second quarter of the year), Moroccan male unemployment increased from 11.7% to 41.7%, while that of women rose from 22.1% to 51.2%. Total unemployment was 44.5% and particularly affected the young (aged between 16 and 24), with a rate of 62.5%. According to various authors, the increase has not had a serious impact on returns to Morocco, having reduced the entry of Moroccan migrants but not affected return rates. Nonetheless, they suggest that temporary displacements –not statistically registered– may be occurring, whether to Morocco or to other European countries (Colectivo IOÉ, 2010).



Regarding the legal status of Moroccan immigrants, in 1991 the Spanish authorities imposed the requirement of visa a for Moroccan citizens in an attempt to reduce the irregular migration of false

tourists, but irregularity continued to be the most common form of migration due to several factors: the inadequacy of legal channels of migration, the demand for workers in the intensive agriculture of the Mediterranean coast, the lack of surveillance of maritime frontiers and the weakness of labour and police control over irregular migration (González Enríquez, 2010). As a result, during the 1990s thousands of young Moroccans crossed the Gibraltar Straits on *pateras* (small boats) to find irregular jobs in either agriculture or construction. Irregularity has been a common feature of Moroccan immigration up to the extraordinary regularisations of 2000-01 which provided a legal status to the irregular community formed during the 90s.

The deployment of SIVE (Integrated System of Exterior Surveillance, *Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior*) in 2002 in the area of the Gibraltar Straits and then at other points of the southern Spanish coast and the Canary Islands, equipped with efficient technical resources, led to the capture of most boats carrying irregular migrants, who were immediately sent back to Morocco. As a consequence, the arrival of new irregular migration from Morocco declined significantly while successive regularisations legalized the status of the irregular migrants who were already in the country. In the last extraordinary regularisation process, in 2005, the percentage of Moroccans who applied was very low (16%, compared with 50% among most other national groups). Since then, Moroccan migration has been the most regular among the non-European groups, while irregularity has been statistically irrelevant.

In 2001 Morocco and Spain signed an agreement on immigration that established institutional channels of immigration for Moroccan workers,³ although disagreements between the two governments prevented its effective implementation until 2005. The agreement establishes, among other things, the framework for managing circular migration in the agriculture sector. Aside from temporary agricultural work, Spanish norms do not allow non-EU foreigners to engage in circular migration: temporary residence permits are not renewed to those who spend more than six months a year outside Spain. Even among those who possess a permanent residence permit, spending more than 12 months outside the EU can lead to the permit's annulment. Only those who have obtained Spanish citizenship can leave and return freely, although the rate of naturalisation of Moroccan immigrants is very low (15%). These institutional constraints are further described below.

3. Methodology

Research has been carried out in two phases: the first was devoted to the institutional, demographic and economic framework of circular labour movements between Morocco and Spain and the second to the analysis of the experience of circular migrant workers.

During the first phase, the analysis of bibliography and documents was complemented by interviews in Morocco and Spain with all manner of stakeholders directly or indirectly involved with migration between the two countries. All in all, 29 persons have been interviewed, among them officials of public institutions, trade unionists, leaders of migrants' associations, employers and experts. Among the Moroccan sources, the *Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences* (ANAPEC, the State employment agency) has been outstanding for the amount and quality of its information, as it is in charge of organising the programmes for circularity with Spain. In Spain, the local authorities at Cartaya (Huelva, in south-western Spain), the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, the Ministry of Labour and the NGOs devoted to immigrants have offered key information. The complete list of stakeholder interviewed is shown in the annex to this report.

³ 'Acuerdo sobre mano de obra entre el Reino de España y el Reino de Marruecos', *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 20/IX/2001.

Once the first phase of research had established that this kind of temporary agricultural job was the only relevant movement that could be considered to be circular between Morocco and Spain, the second phase of research focused on Huelva, where around 8,000 Moroccan women were working seasonally in the planting and harvesting of strawberries. A Moroccan researcher, Soufian Marouad, carried out the interviews with these women, after a failed attempt to conduct them in French. Moroccan children learn French at school but most of the women were illiterate and consequently only spoke their mother tongue, Moroccan Arabic. The contacts with the women snow-balled and were conducted in their homes.

During the month of June 2010, 30 interviews were held and taped in two different municipalities, Lepe and Cartaya, using the general interview guide prepared for circular migrants in the METOIKOS project and adapting it to the specific situation of seasonal agricultural workers. As women are almost 100% of the temporary workers in the area, all interviews were directed at them. The local authorities helped the researcher establish his first contact with the workers, but the interviews were conducted without any external presence, in a climate of trust. To avoid generating suspicion among the women, the interviewer emphasised that the research was of an independent nature, unrelated to any of the institutions or businesses involved in the design or implementation of the migration programme.

4. Legal seasonal agricultural migration as the only kind of circular migration between Morocco and Spain

In order to identify the patterns of circular migration which are taking place between Morocco and Spain our research has interviewed institutions competent on immigration issues, both in Morocco and in Spain, immigrants' associations, NGOs dealing with immigrants, trade unions and business organisations in several geographical areas (see the list in the Annex). The main result which emerges from these interviews is that only temporary migration devoted to agricultural work can be considered to be 'circular'. This is also consistent with the previously existing literature, which only mentions this kind of circularity between Morocco and Spain.

We have excluded from our scope the large number of people (around 30,000, mostly women) who on a daily basis cross the frontiers of Ceuta and Melilla, in northern Morocco, to carry goods for trans-frontier traders who buy in the two cities and sell in Morocco. These Moroccans live in the provinces of Nador and Tanger and are granted a special permit from the Spanish authorities to enter Ceuta and Melilla on condition that they leave before midnight. Aside from these porters, several hundred women and, in a smaller number, men, use this special permit to work in the cities, either as domestic help or in the agricultural or construction sectors. They do not spend the night in the cities (or are at least not meant to) but in their villages on the Moroccan side of the border; for this reason, our research has not considered them immigrants but commuters.

Immigrants who have obtained Spanish citizenship, which allows them to travel freely between the two countries, have also been excluded from our research as they are Spanish to all legal purposes. In any case, our research has not found a significant number of cases of circular-migration Moroccans even in this privileged legal situation. Asking directly in Moroccan-owned shops, some Moroccans with Spanish citizenship have been identified but they usually travel to other European countries, mostly the Netherlands, to buy the Arab goods they sell in Spain. A large amount of Moroccan products are traded indirectly in Spain through agents settled in northern or central Europe, who travel throughout the continent. There is no trade accord between Morocco and Spain that includes special permits for Moroccan traders to stay. For this reason there is no trace of Moroccan traders or small entrepreneurs migrating in a circular way between Morocco and Spain.

In contrast with Italy, our research has not found regular Moroccan immigrants working as pedlars in Spain. This subsector in Spain is almost fully covered by Sub-Saharan migrants. Also in contrast to

Italy, Spanish implementation of migration norms usually rejects the applications coming from nationals of poorer countries for self-employment work permits that would allow Moroccan immigrants to migrate as traders or autonomous professionals (Trinidad 2003). As for qualified immigration, only very recently some qualified immigrants (doctors) have received residence permits due to the scarcity of medical personnel in the Spanish health services. But these qualified immigrants are not 'circular'. They are offered a contract of at least a year.

Immigrants spending their holidays in their home country have not been considered 'circular' either, nor those who are unemployed in Spain but spend several months a year in Morocco, where their Spanish unemployment subsidy allows them to enjoy a higher consumption level. There are certain traits of this kind of semi-return immigration among the unemployed, but no data on them (Pajares, 2009).

Three of the sources interviewed during the research (ANAPEC, the Spanish Embassy in Rabat and the main association of Moroccan workers in Spain, ATIME, *Asociación de Trabajadores Inmigrantes en España*) mentioned that there is some circular migration among workers employed in the hospitality sector in tourist areas and among those working on fishing boats. They spend less than six months in Morocco (in order for their permits to remain valid) and the rest of year in Spanish tourist areas or aboard fishing boats. But despite the efforts of the researchers to identify any of these workers or to obtain some data about them through the Moroccan Employment Service (ANAPEC) or through Spanish institutions, no information has come to light.

The lack of channels open to circular migration between Spain and Morocco (or between Spain and any other non-EU country) is the result of an already long experience of irregular migration. Irregularity has been such a prominent aspect of migration to Spain that the drafting of migration norms has had among its main concerns that of preventing the opening of doors that could become ways of entry for irregular migrants. The weakness of internal controls (whether labour or police) has pushed the legislators to strengthen the defensive aspects of external controls and procedures. When irregular migration between Morocco and Spain was relatively easy (during the 80s, becoming more difficult in the 90s) circular behaviour was also common, but the fight against irregularity has had the collateral effect of hardening the conditions for circularity.

5. Agricultural seasonal migration

Spain's intensive agriculture areas became dependent on foreign manpower in a process that began in the mid-80s and consolidated during the 90s. As fertility rates decreased among Spaniards, educational levels among the new generations improved and more attractive labour opportunities opened up, partly due to the economic growth generated by entry in the European Union, farmers found it increasingly difficult to employ local manpower. On the other hand, intensive agriculture experienced a spectacular development over the past few decades with the introduction of new techniques, most noticeably in the former quasi-desert areas of Almeria, on the south-eastern coast, a development that since it started was in need of non-local manpower.

Irregular migration filled the gap from the very beginning and intensive agriculture became the main labour niche for immigrants without permits to integrate in the labour market and then regularise their situation in any of the successive extraordinary regularisation processes or through ordinary regularisation channels. An additional problem related with this phenomenon was the flight of migrants, once they became regularised, towards less physically-demanding jobs, causing a continuous demand for new immigrants. The improvements throughout the decade of the 2000s in the control of migrant inflows, the sharp increase in labour inspections, the signing of accords between Spain and several migrant-sending countries (Morocco among them), the regularisations and the restriction of first labour and residence permits to specific sectors and provinces, finally achieved a noticeable normalisation of migrant labour in the agricultural sector.

The so called ‘contingent’ (the offer of employment for migrant workers usually channelled through big employers or groups of employers) has been the main institutional tool to regulate the entry of seasonal agricultural workers who arrive in Spain with a contract that has already been signed in the country of origin. The southern agricultural provinces of Huelva and Almería account for most of these contracts.

Seasonal contracts signed through the ‘contingent’⁴

2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
34,932	33,297	39,747	64,716	47,180

Source: Ministry of Labour and Immigration.

During these same years, seasonal recruitment permits (the ‘contingent’) in Huelva increased from 20,336 (2004) to 40,491 (2008). From 2008 onwards, the high level of unemployment among Spaniards and immigrants that were already in Spain caused a return from construction (the sector most affected by the economic crisis) to agriculture and a decrease in the number of seasonal contracts offered to temporary migrants. In Huelva the change reduced to half the offer of contracts, to 20,621 in 2009 and to 6,153 in 2010. As regards Almería, in 2008 the ‘contingent’ authorised 2,483 permits, decreasing to 1,100 in 2009.

Seasonal workers from Eastern European countries belonging to the European Union are included in these data only regarding the period prior to their entry in the European Union or the lifting of the moratorium on their free movement as workers. Some agricultural regions (see below) had developed a ‘tradition’ of recruiting workers in several Eastern European countries with which they had established fluid and stable relations. In Huelva, for instance, from 2002 to 2007 workers recruited in Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland made up more than 90% of the ‘contingent’. In 2009, however, Moroccans workers were almost 75% of this ‘contingent’ as the East Europeans did not need to use this legal channel, and Moroccans comprised 100% in 2010. In the region of Almería (2008) 33% of the workers recruited through the ‘contingent’ came from Rumania and Bulgaria, while 24% were Ecuadoreans and 21% Moroccans. The following year, Ecuadoreans and Moroccans made up 80% of the ‘contingent’ migrant workers.

Moroccan seasonal migrants are concentrated in the province of Huelva, where 16,271 Moroccan workers were recruited using the circular framework in the 2009 agricultural campaign, while only 519 were contracted in Almería in 2008 (the highest number, according to available data) and less than 200 took part as circular migrants in Catalonia (province of Lleida). It must be stressed that these data refer only to circular migrants, ie, to those included in the ‘contingent’ and who usually return in successive years. But the amount of Moroccans residing in Spain and working seasonally in agriculture, combining this job with others also in agriculture or in other sectors, is clearly much higher but unavailable.

Some relevant differences, related to the nature of agricultural work, appear concerning the length of the stay and the gender and family conditions of workers. To sum up, in Huelva and Lleida almost all circular migrants are women, most of them married, and their average stay is of two months. In Almería, stays are much longer (nine months on average) and married couples form the main group.

⁴ These data do not include migrants who were residents in Spain and employed in temporary agricultural work.

6. Institutional framework: Moroccan circular seasonal migration to Huelva, Almería and Lleida

The Labour accord signed between Morocco and Spain in 2001, which came into effect in 2004, regulates legal labour migration in aspects such as the communication of labour offers, selection procedures, training, salaries, workers' social rights, provision of visas, travel and lodging. The Employment Service (ANAPEC) is the main Moroccan institutional agent in the process, while in Spain a broader range of stakeholders intervene, from local authorities to territorial government delegations and employers' associations.

Both the Spanish and Moroccan stakeholders who were interviewed shared the perception that the process of circular migration has experienced a general improvement since 2004, when it began, and not only regarding the workers taking part in it (see below) since most of the stakeholders involved are broadly satisfied with the scheme's current working, although this does not exclude certain criticism and the proposal of improvements.

The most outstanding improvement relates to the selection process. In 2004 many of the women who were selected by ANAPEC had no agricultural experience or did not live in rural areas and were neither ready or willing to do the kind of physical work that was expected from them. Corruption and nepotism, but also lack of experience, were responsible for this failed selection. As a result, many of the women did not work in the agricultural campaign, used the travel facilities provided and the visa to stay in Spain or move to other European countries and most of them (60%) failed to return to Morocco and became irregular migrants. This failed and non-sustainable experience led to a revision of the selection methods and criteria by both the Spanish and Moroccan authorities. During this same period (2005), ANAPEC received important and useful institution-building advice and help in the frame of the MEDA funds, which greatly contributed to the better functioning of this key administrative body. The new selection criteria adopted in 2005, and agreed upon by both countries, established that the women should come from rural areas and from all over the country and that they should be mothers of dependent children. A greater direct involvement of employers in the selection process was also agreed on. Since then, in the case of Huelva, a delegation of employers visits the country and takes part in the selection process, excepting in areas that are too distant and isolated (such as the Sahara), where only ANAPEC employees deal with the selection process. The new selection criteria allowed a considerable fall in the rate of non-returns, which decreased from 60% to 8% in the 2005 agricultural campaign.

The economic downturn and the consequent decline in the number of jobs offered to migrants have rendered the selection process redundant: most women migrating through the circular scheme have taken part in it in previous years and they are summoned directly (ie, recruitment is nominative). New selection processes only take place if or when the demand for migrant workers increases by such a substantial number that they outnumber the stock of already selected workers who participated in previous agricultural campaigns.

All stakeholders, be they Moroccan or Spanish, are interested in guaranteeing the circular aspect of seasonal migration. Spanish employers benefit from the contracting of workers who have already been trained in previous years while their return to Morocco once each campaign finishes is a social and political precondition for the sustainability of the whole process. From the Moroccan perspective, these workers are also needed in their own agricultural sector and the stakeholders' main demand is that uncertainty is reduced in such a way that workers can be certain to have work in Spain for several years in advance. Some of them propose a discontinuous labour contract, a legal format used in Spain for seasonal work that is repeated annually. But the contract is a permanent one and has rarely been used in the agriculture sector, where climate conditions can substantially alter the amount of work required. In any case, the contracting of circular temporary migrant workers who have taken part in

two agricultural campaigns (in two different years) and have returned to their country of origin is easier for employers than contracting newcomers, as they are exempt from the prior requirement of checking that there is a scarcity of this kind of workers in the Spanish labour market (Art. 40, section K of the Implementation Rules of the Law on Foreigners).

Most of the Moroccan and Spanish stakeholders interviewed focused their claims on bureaucratic or administrative aspects of the procedure, demanding their simplification. The organisation of seasonal work is not an easy matter, as many documents and authorisations are required and several institutions are involved. Stakeholders sum up their demands by saying that the process could be accelerated and some of the administrative requirements simplified or even revised. However, few of them suggested major reforms. An employers' association claimed that health certificates or medical checks should be applied properly as in some cases they had recruited pregnant women who could not subsequently work on fruit harvesting.⁵ Different stakeholders in both countries agreed with the fact that the monetary cost of administrative requirements is too high for citizens with low incomes, and one of them suggested that visas and requirements should be made less expensive for workers repeating it in successive years. Some interviewees shared the criticism that requirements are becoming too difficult and costly (both in time and staff), as in the case of biometric visas. Employers claim that there are too many requirements and that they are forced to devote too much time to comply with them.



⁵ This problem has also been pointed out in the interview with the Moroccan Foundation “Orient Occident” claiming that the fact that some women arrive to Spain do not knowing that they are pregnant have caused to them and their families important consequences as suspicions have arisen about the moment in which the

6.1. Circular migration in Huelva

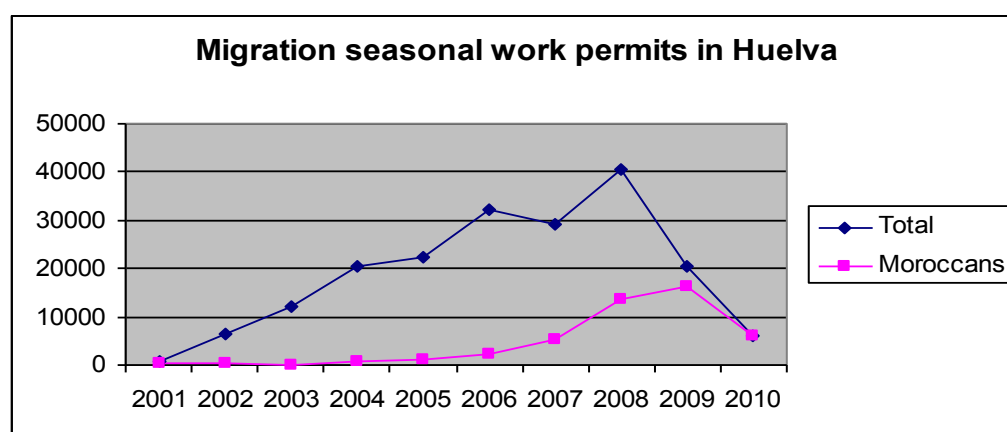
The southern area of Huelva is well known for its agricultural sector, especially for its strawberries and other red-fruit farms. These crops require a large amount of manpower during the harvest, which covers several months, from February or March to May or June. It has been a flourishing sector whose growth has been parallel during the decade of 2000 to that of the construction sector, to which Spanish workers in the area have fled. This is one of the reasons for the extraordinary growth in the number of migrant temporary workers that have been moving to Huelva over the past decade. The following table shows the evolution in the number of authorised temporary work and residence permits in the province.

Table 1. Temporary work and residence permits (Huelva)

Yr./Na.	Bulg.	Col.	Ec.	Phil.	Mor.	Pol.	Rum.	Sen.	Ukr.	Total
2000						600				600
2001					198	540				738
2002		149			336	4954	970			6409
2003		177	15		95	7535	4178			12000
2004	508	105	8		620	8506	10589			20336
2005	604	82	64		1094	7361	13186			22391
2006	941	8	26		2330	9796	19153			32254
2007	3021	22	12		5277	0	20710			29042
2008	4656	11	14	270	13600	0	20634	749	557	40491
2009	373	0	11	0	16271	0	3743	40	183	20621
2010	0	0	0	0	6153	0	0	0	0	6153

Bulg.: Bulgaria; *Col.:* Colombia; *Ec.:* Ecuador; *Phil.:* Philippines; *Mor.:* Morocco; *Pol.:* Poland; *Rum.:* Rumania; *Sen.:* Senegal; *Ukr.:* Ukraine.

Source: Sub-delegation of the Government in Huelva.



Source: Sub-delegation of the Government in Huelva.

(Contd.) _____
pregnancy did begin

The graph clearly reflects the steady increase that peaked in 2008 at almost 40,500 temporary workers and the decline since 2009. According to local sources it seems that for the agricultural campaign of 2011 the amount of authorisations will be very similar to that of 2010. It should be highlighted that Moroccans have been the only non-EU citizens that have continued taking part in the campaigns. As already mentioned, workers migrating from Eastern European countries belonging to the EU do not need a work permit and hence are not included in the data, although they have continued to take part in the campaigns. It is not easy to calculate the weight of immigrant temporary workers during planting and harvest, as there are no official global data. The size of the entire workforce employed in the campaigns includes those shown in the table above plus the following categories: irregular immigrants (employed in a significant number up to 2005), regular migrants already living in Spain and native workers. According to the Cartaya Town Council,⁶ around 110,000 people are directly employed in the agricultural sector during the campaigns, with immigrants arriving with a temporary work permit accounting for 40% of the workforce at the peak reached in 2008.

Moroccan seasonal workers have participated in successive campaigns since 2001, but the opinions gathered among the Cartaya Town Council's officials and farmers indicate that the first recruitments (from 2001 to 2003) were not successful. They claim a lack of transparency and corruption in the pre-selection procedure in Morocco during those years, resulting in a high rate of non-compliance and non-returns. As shown in table 1, recruitment moved to Eastern and Central European countries such as Poland, Rumania and, to a lesser degree, Bulgaria. During 2004, 2005 and 2006 between 20,000 and 30,000 workers from these countries took part in the campaigns. However, the entry of these countries to the EU and/or the end of the moratorium period for the free movement of their workers aroused fears among employers about the risk that the opening up of job opportunities in other economic sectors could result in a scarcity of manpower for agriculture. For this reason, both employers and the regional authorities looked to Morocco once again.

In this context, the town council of Cartaya –in partnership with employers' associations, trade unions, NGOs and other associations and public administrations– applied for and received financial aid from the EU to develop a project known as 'Comprehensive and Ethical Management of Circular Migration between Morocco and Huelva' (AENEAS-CARTAYA). The project had a duration of 30 months between the end of 2005 and mid-2008 and exceeded all expectations as to the number of workers recruited. During the 2006, 2007 and 2008 campaigns (within the project's duration) more than 21,000 work and residence permits were issued, further exceeding local expectations of managing a flow of some 2,000 Moroccan workers. As part of the project, a local institution was created, the Foundation for Foreign Workers in Huelva (FUTEH, *Fundación para trabajadores extranjeros en Huelva*).

The aim of AENEAS-CARTAYA –according to Cartaya Town Council's officials involved in the project– was to create an institutional structure and protocol in order to improve recruitment in Morocco.⁷ The project aimed to coordinate the different steps or phases of recruitment and rationally distribute the activities of different institutions that contribute to the movement of seasonal workers from Morocco to Spain. It also had the purpose of becoming an instrument to ensure the compliance of social agreements, contribute to the integration of foreign workers in the community and offer supplementary training. All in all, the project's target was to ensure the proper management of the inflow of Moroccan workers and to avoid past mistakes.

Evaluation reports provide the main source of information about the project and its activities. The final report prepared by the Town Council of Cartaya (AENEAS-CARTAYA, 2008) broadens the project's

⁶ Cartaya is a small rural town, located 26 km east of Huelva, the province's administrative capital. It is the centre of Spain's main strawberry producing area.

⁷ During that period, other recruitment experiences took place in Senegal and Philippines, but they had no continuity and, especially in the case of Senegal, were unsuccessful.

objectives and defines it also as an instrument for developing legal migration and fighting against illegal migration. To achieve its aims, the project planned and carried out four main activities:

1. The creation of a bureau or delegation for the project in Morocco (in Casablanca, with two additional bureaus or extensions in the north of the country). This delegation has two purposes: to assist Moroccan employment services and Spanish employers' associations during the pre-selection and selection processes and, once completed, to assist workers and employers' associations to arrange bureaucratic and administrative requirements (labour contracts and visas, for instance) and to prepare the trip from Morocco to Spain.
2. The creation of a bureau or delegation in the city of Cartaya with the aim of assisting employers and workers during their stay in Huelva. This includes training, legal and administrative assistance and the coordination of social and health services to attend to any problem arising during the workers' stay in Huelva.
3. The development of software for the on-line management of all stages of recruitment and to establish a tool for communication between the various agents involved, to monitor workers in the migration process and to report any incident that might arise.
4. The constitution of a new entity, the FUTEH, to develop the competences and work of the AENEAS-CARTAYA project once it has been completed.

The project was materialised through agreements with Spanish consulates, frontier police forces and port authorities to facilitate travel from Morocco to Huelva and the return to Morocco. Another important set of activities involved those related to the training of seasonal workers, which included language courses organised by the town council and the participation of workers in the training plans designed by trade unions and health authorities. AENEAS-CARTAYA and FUTEH promoted an agreement between the Moroccan ANAPEC and the town council of Cartaya in 2006 and ANAPEC and FUTEH in 2010. These agreements establish the competences or activities that are assumed by each institution and the cooperation between them.

FUTEH's work is organised in four commissions or working groups, each of which comprises actors and institutions with shared interests. Mayors and town council officials of municipalities with seasonal migrants make up the first, employers' associations the second and trade unions, NGOs and civic associations the third. Finally, FUTEH itself and ANAPEC make up a fourth commission in charge of the execution and evaluation of activities concerning the management of circular migration. Any problem that appears during the procedure is discussed in each of the commissions.

As the AENEAS project has reached its end, a new European project, M@RES-HUELVA, supports the continuity and improvement of this circular migration process. Planned activities include the improvement of software, the strengthening of the officials' capacities, communication strategies and the management of the workers' period of residence in Huelva.

The evaluation of the AENEAS-CARTAYA project has been quite positive as regards the achievement of its self-imposed goals: the number of workers recruited was beyond any expectations, the pre-selection and selection processes were more accurate and it achieved high percentages of returns to Morocco. According to the evaluation report (AENEAS-CARTAYA 2008), the percentage of non-returns was of 22.7% in 2006, falling to 9% in 2007 and 5.7% in 2008. Moreover, travel from and to Morocco was better organised, training activities were developed and trade unions supervised accommodation and work conditions. And the project itself had a positive impact on the actors and countries involved. A new and ad-hoc information service was available for candidates, workers and employers. Workers benefited from seasonal work, an income that was relatively high by Moroccan standards, access to training, not only related to their jobs but with health and domestic issues and languages as well. On the other hand, farmers had the certainty of their manpower needs being covered. At the institutional level, the project helped consolidate ANAPEC's structure and functioning

and contributed to the reduction of illegal migration to the extent that it offered a legal and effective alternative.

The external evaluation of the AENEAS project is also positive.⁸ As regards its results, the evaluation remarks that recruitment has increased, no-returns have been reduced to almost zero and Morocco is not just an alternative source of manpower when other countries fail but the main source of seasonal manpower. Furthermore, AENEAS became an institutional reference for both employers and employees. Employers had support during the recruitment process and employees could count on institutional support to solve any labour or social problems they might have had during their stay in Huelva. The development of a software programme that contributes to the more efficient management of files is also remarked upon by the evaluator. The external report makes some recommendations regarding technical aspects related to the internal evaluation and also says that the 'model' could gain in efficiency if employers and authorities were to plan their manpower needs sooner than they usually do in order to allow ANAPEC to start pre-selection earlier. Finally, the report points out two more aspects that might explain its success: the reciprocal interest shown by all institutions involved in the project and the development and consolidation of an institutional network, which is one of the main tools or advantages to allow its continuity.

The stakeholders interviewed shared the positive evaluation of most outputs of the project and of FUTEH's activities. They remarked on the institutional traits. ANAPEC's officials use this example to argue that the success of seasonal migration depends to a large extent on the identification and cooperation between institutions and employers insisted that the establishment of a clear protocol and support for actions concerning recruitment were the most important outcomes.

The stakeholders' views are richer than the evaluation reports as for criticism and improvement proposals to the 'model'. In general, local officials directly involved in recruitment think the 'model' has a solid structure although it requires constant improvement, to which the M@RES project is devoted. Some proposals aim to improve the organisation of the workers' stay in order to place women from the same village in the same farm to facilitate coexistence. One of the main innovations of AENEAS is the coordination or agreement with the consular services so that workers do not need to visit their consulate as they can obtain their visas through the AENEAS structure. However, this causes staff problems at the consulates in charge of visa authorisations, a problem which should be addressed.

Trade Unions, associations and NGOs (Spanish or Moroccan) focus on workers' rights and on training, a field in which they are very active in Huelva, of their own accord or in cooperation with institutions. These groups emphasise the need to improve prior training (ie, before the workers' arrival), especially in the Spanish language and in social and labour rights, as this would allow workers to gain autonomy. Training during the stay and afterwards is also important to enhance the effect of their stay on local development in the country of origin. Several associations cooperate in the supervision of working and living conditions on farms, but they propose a narrower coordination. From the Moroccan side, some interviewees show a more critical appraisal of the circular migration process but always in a framework of positive evaluation. Research has revealed criticism in Morocco about the excessive control over AENEAS-CARTAYA and FUTEH by local authorities and employers. Members of different associations add that public accommodation or hostels for workers should be improved.

Finally, one of the most important and publicly-discussed questions is that of recruitment being restricted to women to plant and harvest strawberries and other red fruits. The issue will be discussed in the following sections as it is also the case in Catalonia. It is difficult to find out –from interviews– who defined the exact profile of workers. It seems that employers' associations defined a profile of women with family charges (aside from age and experience in the agricultural sector) and the

⁸ AENEAS-Cartaya Monitoring report (in Spanish). Rafael Eguiguren, 2007.

Moroccan authorities completed the profile by demanding married women. As explained above, the main reason underlying this profile is that having family responsibilities encourages the women to return to Morocco. This requirement and the fact that they leave their children and families in Morocco have brought about some criticism, claiming that such a selection is ‘in breach of basic rights’ (Fargues, 2008, p. 11). The requirement of the husband’s acceptance of his wife’s participation in the programme (as stipulated by ANAPEC to ensure that someone in the family would be taking care of the children) has been criticised by Moroccan women’s associations who consider it contrary to the freedom and independence of women.⁹

There are other reasons, according to employers’ associations, to recruit women. They have traditionally been employed in this delicate work as they seem to be more skilled. It is not only the case of Moroccan women: the workers from Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and even Senegal are also women. Furthermore, it has been argued among employers that women are more compliant and less likely to cause disturbances than men. In the case of Moroccan women, it is remarkable that the employers interviewed said that they perceived their cultural habits very positively. *‘There is another advantage: I have not created their culture. It is what it is and I am not going to change it. But we are favoured by it: they do not smoke, do not drink, do not go out. All Europeans love that they do not do these things’* (agricultural employer, Cartaya).

On the other hand, criticism published in the media suggests that women are in a weaker position that can give rise to labour and even sexual abuse.¹⁰ The concentration of tens of thousands of young women in villages and in the countryside and the predominance of men among employers and foremen create the conditions for sexual harassment to go unpunished.

Nonetheless, associations, trade unions and NGOs who view this experience from close up do not share the ethical criticism that it arouses from more distant observers. They recognise that it is in some cases a difficult situation for women, their children and families (see the following section). They even recognise that there have been certain abuses from some employers (less than 5% fail to comply with labour agreements),¹¹ but they underline the broad picture of respect towards immigrants’ rights as workers and individuals. A different kind of criticism to the recruitment of women with family charges has been expressed by a Moroccan policy-maker who argues against the reduction or even elimination of opportunities for young women without children.

6.2. Circular migration in Almería

The agricultural sector in south-eastern Almería uses immigrant workers in a permanent way and its recruiting requirements in the country of origin are much lower than in Huelva. The variety of products grown in Almería allows the employment of local and immigrant workforces in rotation: when an agricultural campaign finishes another begins. Moreover, products that are harvested in Almería are not as perishable as strawberries or other red fruits and do not require such an extraordinary concentration of workers in a short period of time. According to the head of a farmers’ association, there were about 240,000 people working in the agricultural sector in 2009, of which 90,000 were ‘under plastic’, this is to say, planting and harvesting in plastic-covered greenhouses.

⁹ See Lmadani (2010).

¹⁰ See for instance the report published in *El País* (13/VI/2010) titled ‘Abusos sexuales a inmigrantes’ (sexual abuse of immigrants).

¹¹ Lmadani (2010) denounces in her paper that in some cases Moroccan women have found themselves rejected by employers once they are in Huelva and without the means to return to Morocco. Our research has found no evidence of this.

However, the 2,483 temporary permits issued in 2008 for seasonal agricultural works represent only a small percentage. Table 2 shows the labour and residence permits issued for Almería in 2008 and 2009.

Table 2. Temporary work and residence permits in Almería

	2008	% of total 2008	2009	% of total 2009
Bulgaria	87	3,5	-	-
Colombia	44	1,8	3	
Ecuador	605	24,4	413	37,55
Morocco	519	20,9	468	42,55
Peru	194	7,8	149	0,91
Panama	-	-	10	13,55
Dominican Rep.	1	0,0	-	-
Rumania	740	29,8	-	-
Senegal	12	0,5	9	0,82
Ukraine	281	11,3	48	4,36
Total	2,483	100	1,100	100

Source: Subdelegation of the Government in Almería.

In 2009 recruitment in Almería was around 5% of that in Huelva and Moroccans make up the bulk of its migrant seasonal workers. According to one farmers' association in Almería, employers have developed the habit of recruiting couples: men are in charge of harvesting (every kind of vegetable) while women work in activities related to the post-harvesting, such as packing boxes of fruits and vegetables for export. Workers are usually selected among those with experience in the harvesting of several products.

Due to the small number of workers that the sector needs to contract seasonally way, employers and institutions have not felt compelled to institutionalise their relations with their Moroccan counterparts as Huelva has. Farmers, individually or through farmers' associations use the 'contingent' channel to arrange contracts at source in Morocco.

Spanish stakeholders in Almería share the opinion that pre-selection processes in Morocco have improved over the past few years, and it is no longer a case of those who arrived through the 'contingent' frequently staying once their permits had expired. Employers' association argue in favour of recruiting workers with family charges as they are 'more responsible'. On the other hand, an NGO that provides support for immigrants of any type is more critical, saying that not enough information is given to workers before they arrive and that lodging conditions should improve.

6.3. Circular migration in Catalonia

The Catalan agricultural sector has a long tradition of recruiting in countries of origin, but preferably directed towards Latin America and Eastern Europe. As in Almería, Moroccan agricultural workers have been permanently established in areas of intensive agriculture in Catalonia since the 1980s. However, recruitment at source of Moroccan workers for seasonal employment has been infrequent, as

some of the first attempts ended in failure. In 2007 and 2008 no more than 120 Moroccans workers were employed with temporary permits on Catalan farms, mainly in the province of Lleida, in areas producing citrus fruit. According to the farmers' association interviewed, employers are no longer recruiting at source in Morocco. During the 2010 campaign they only contracted Rumanian workers at source, with the remainder of those employed being migrants who were already established in Spain or Spaniards.

Recruitment in the country of origin has benefited from the work carried out by SILO (*Servei d'intermediació i formació laboral en origen*, Service of intermediation and labour training in origin) which aims to give institutional, financial and management support to all employers or employers' associations in need of seasonal temporary migrants. It has functioned for many years in Poland and Colombia and still does in the latter country. It helps in recruitment, administrative procedures and training and assistance to workers. In this respect, the SILO bears some similarity with FUTEH although it focuses on other international areas.

Concerning their experiences in Morocco, Catalan employers' associations shared with the farmers from Huelva and Almería the same difficulties in the selection process during the first few years as they had no experience in Morocco. But they used their previous experience in Rumania and SILO helped them by organising visa requirements and the move from Morocco to Spain. The employer's main criticism concerned ANAPEC's selection procedures, which they did not consider clear enough.

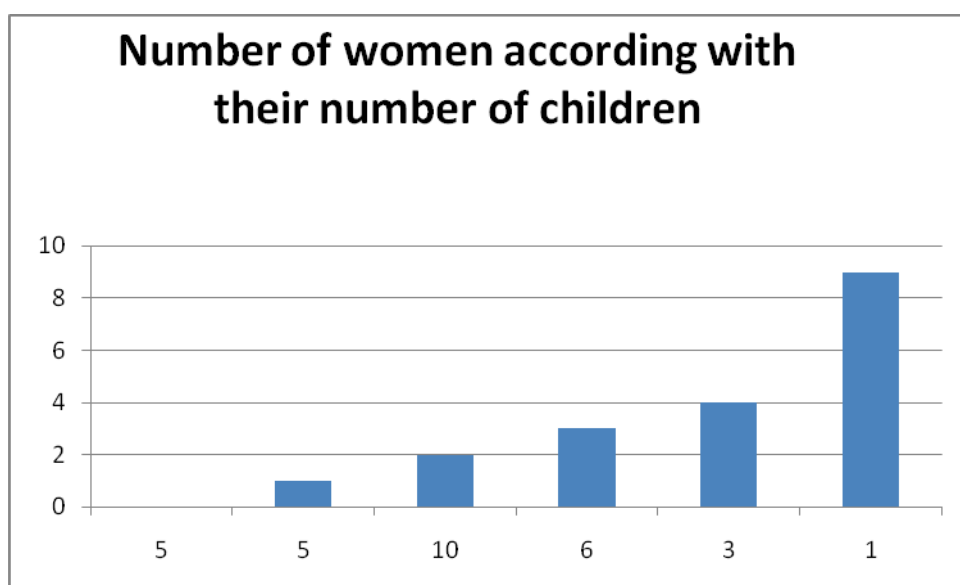
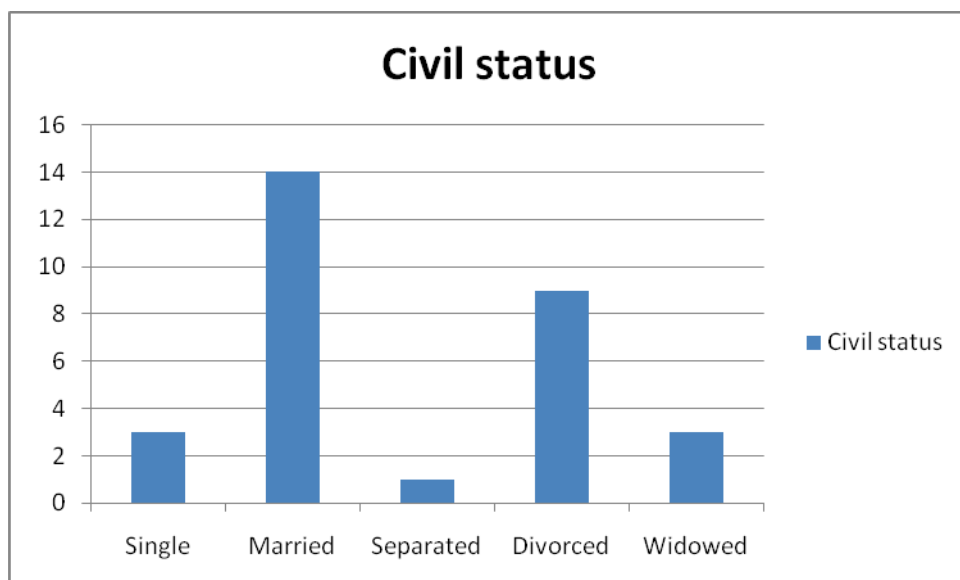
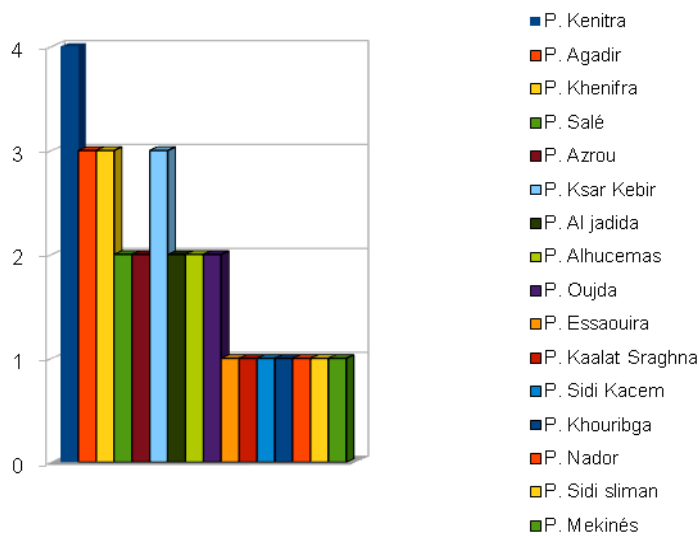
7. The immigrants' evaluation of their circular migration¹²

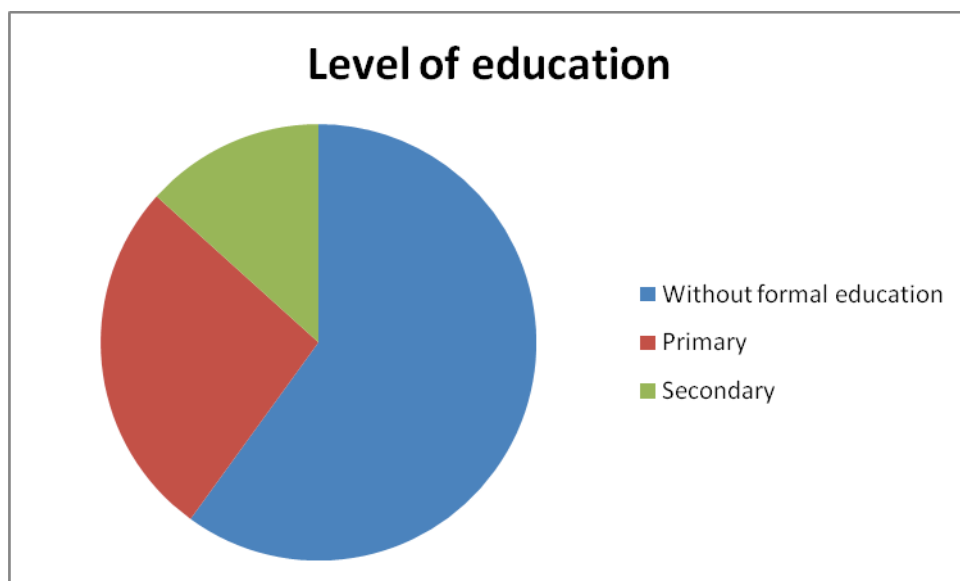
This section is devoted to the analysis of the 30 interviews conducted with temporary female workers in the agricultural sector. Those interviewed were taking part in the institutional programme of cooperation between the main Moroccan job agency (ANAPEC) and a group of local councils and employers' association in the province of Huelva.

Interviewees were aged between 25 and 44, mostly married, divorced or widowed mothers and with a very low level of education –two-thirds were illiterate–. Sixty percent usually work in Morocco in the hidden economy as temporary agricultural workers, peddlers or as domestic help. They come from all areas of rural Morocco.

Geographical origin of workers. Absolute figures.

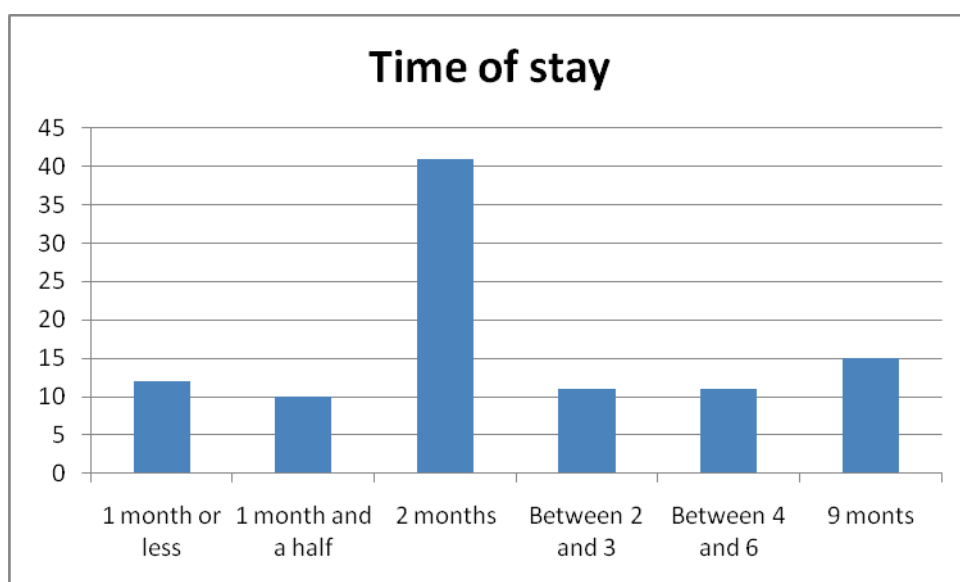
¹² This section relays in the analysis made by Soufian Marouad of the interviews conducted by him among Moroccan workers in Huelva in June 2010.





Features of their experience

Almost all interviewees had left Morocco for the first time between 2006 and 2009 and their only destination so far had been Huelva and its strawberry fields. All workers had participated previously in circular migration programmes, 50% of them since 2008. Their stay period in Huelva spanned from a few weeks to nine months, the maximum allowed by Spanish law, with the average being two months. Half of the workers had travelled accompanied by a neighbour or a friend who was also taking part in the programme.



When asked about the reasons of their decision to migrate, the most frequent responses were:

- Job insecurity in Morocco: the women spoke about long working days that can last for 12 hours, labour instability and very low salaries. Although the legal minimum wage

in Morocco is 55 dirhams/day (around 5 euros), day labourers claim they earn even smaller wages. One of them received 1.8 euros per day. As one of the interviewees said: 'There (in her village) I always live hand to mouth'.

- Lack of economic resources. All workers come from rural and deprived areas. Many of them have single-parent families, dependant on the mother's income.
- The need to save to build a house, open a business or pay for health or education expenses. Due to the weakness of the Moroccan welfare state, families must pay for this latter kind of services.
- The family vetoing female work in Morocco. In some cases, working in Europe is the only possibility for these women, as tradition disapproves of them working outside the family plot.
- Curiosity about Spain and Europe. This reason was mentioned by the two most highly-educated women, who in turn were in the best labour positions in Morocco.

In accordance with these reasons, the wages are mentioned as the best aspect of their seasonal migration to Huelva. All workers answered to a direct question on this issue that the wages they obtained in Huelva were good or very good. Wages totalled 37.80 euros/day for harvesters and 39.42 euros for planters, as established by the provincial collective agreement on agriculture.

The Spanish language is, on the contrary, the main problem. Almost all women, 97% of them, said they had suffered on occasion from their lack of knowledge of Spanish. They are always accompanied at work by a translator, and all the formalities and procedures needed to organise their stay and work are prepared and made by others. But difficulties arise when the women use their free time to walk around the villages, buy something or engage with the locals. In these cases communication is based on sign language and socialising with locals is almost impossible. *'After buying something or using the phone at the Internet cafe, when I finish I open my hand and they take the money. I do not understand anything of what they say. I smile and leave'.* *'They speak to you and you do not know if they are praising or insulting you'.* Half of the women had signed up for the Spanish courses offered by the programme organisers. Others were unable to do so because of the lack of places.

Labour conditions were qualified as good by 40% of the workers, while another 40% said they were tough. The remaining 20% considered that working conditions were 'normal'. The Women worked six-and-a-half hours per day six days a week (Monday to Saturday) in a physically-demanding job.

As for lodging conditions, 87% of the workers said they were 'good' or 'very good'. The women especially valued the use of electrical appliances, showers and hot water, as many of them came from houses where some of these facilities were lacking. *'We have every kind of things. We are not lacking anything. We have more than in Morocco: hot water, fridge, everything'.* They also valued security, the feeling of being protected. Women who expressed dissatisfaction as regards their lodging (13%) mentioned distance as the main problem, as the collective houses where they were living were located outside the village. A minority of the women who were staying in the municipal hostel at Cartaya claimed discrimination against them, as Rumanian temporal workers were staying in brick and cement houses, while *'we are given this scrap, which cannot isolate us from the heat. It is full of bugs. We are packed like sardines'.*

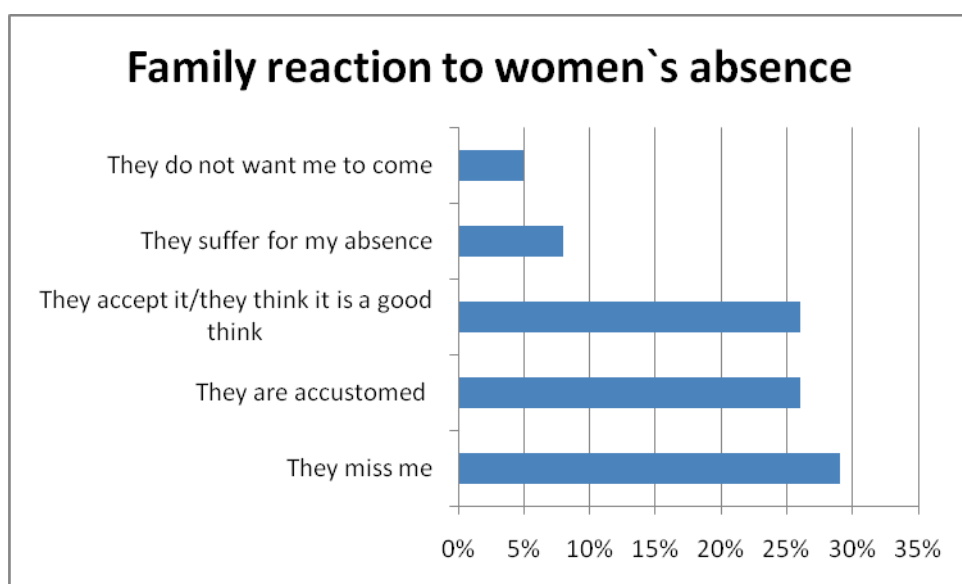
The opportunity of communicating with their families was well valued. Ninety-seven percent said that they had not encountered difficulties in keeping in touch by phone with their relatives. Only some of the women living in the municipal hostel complained about the lack of a public telephone there.

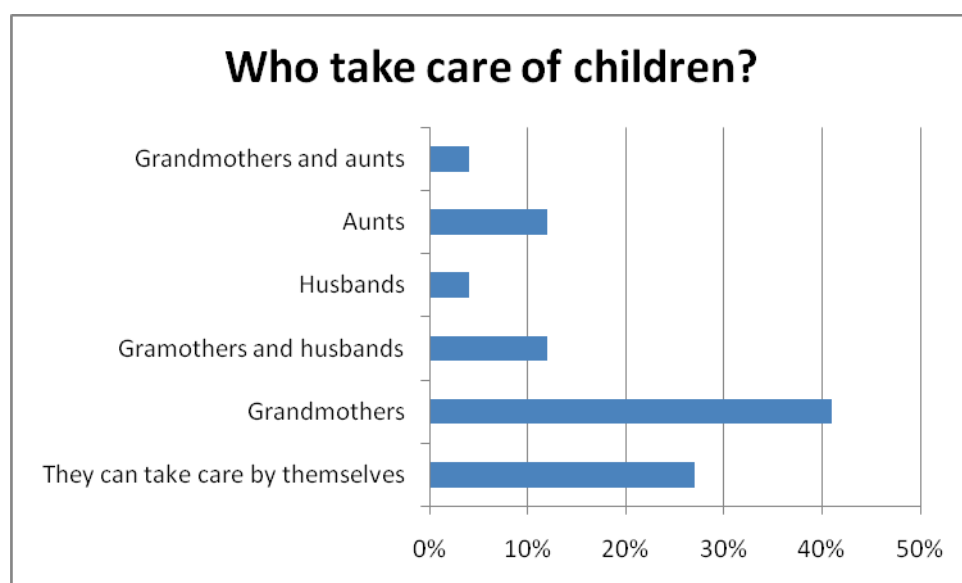
Coexistence with other groups of workers was good, but there were some traces of difficulties in their relations with Eastern Europeans (Rumanians). Ninety-three percent said they had not experienced any unpleasant situations in their relations with their co-workers. The 7% who mention a problem complained about discrimination against Moroccan women by the Rumanians.

When asked about any kind of unforeseen minor problems and how they were resolved, 87% of the workers said they were helped by the enterprise, in the first place, by local council mediators, in the second, and, finally, by NGOs.

The impact on family life

Care of children during their mothers' stay in Huelva was left to relatives, in most cases to grandmothers, followed by aunts. It should be highlighted that only one of the married women in the sample answered to the question that it was the father who remained in charge of the children's care during her absence. When asked about the effect of their absence on family life, there were a variety of answers: the most frequent was 'they have missed me', followed by 'they are used to it' or 'they accept it'. In some cases, especially among divorced or widowed women with small children, the latter suffer from the mother's absence, according to their own perception. It is not uncommon for husbands to accept with reluctance their wives' temporary migration, whether for traditional cultural or religious reasons or simply because they miss them or do not need the extra money.

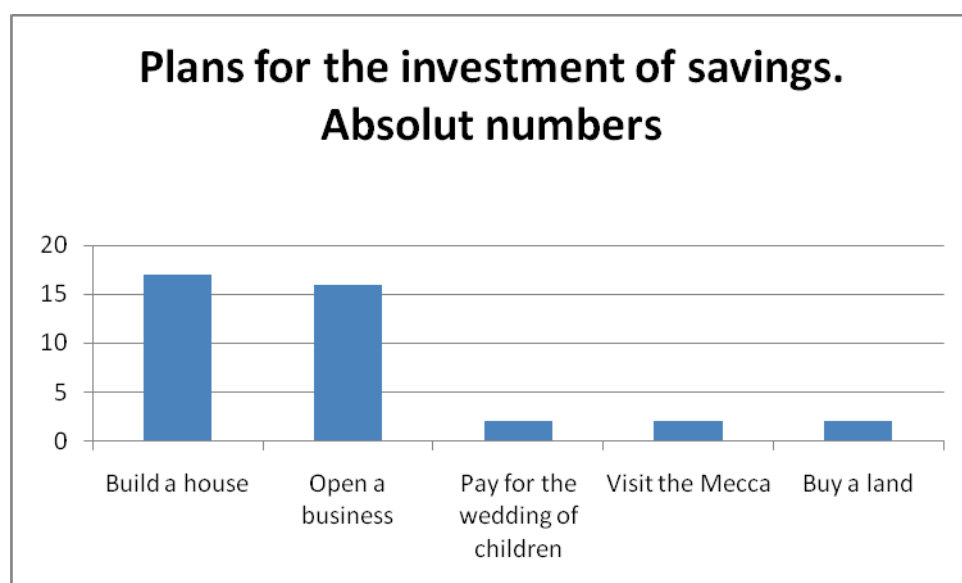




The return

Children are the main reason for returning, as they were previously the reason for travelling abroad. 'I am here for them' was the most often repeated sentence when asked about their motivation for working in Huelva and returning to Morocco. Secondly, most women said they did not want to leave their country ('you always feel better in your own country'). And, finally, illegal immigration (the only alternative to returning once their stay legally ends) is contemplated as a bad experience: the image of irregular immigrants among these workers is one of lack of dignity, weakness before their employers, lack of a family and social support and humiliation.

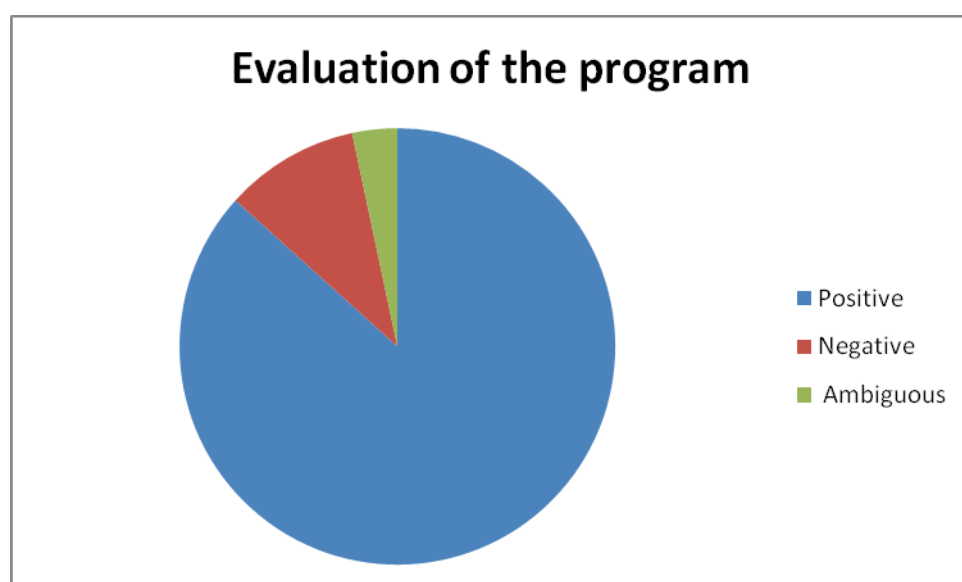
Income earned during the stay in Huelva is devoted in Morocco to family expenses (90%), followed by savings (23%), the buying of property (27%), travel, including the trip to Mecca (10%), paying back creditors or for a child's wedding (7%). Almost all the women (97%) planned to invest in either a house (44%) or a business (41%). Among the business mentioned, some wanted to open a grocery store or a hairdresser and to buy cattle or a farm. Most women interested in opening a business planned to leave it to the care of relatives during their stay in Huelva.



Reintegration into normal life after returning to Morocco seems not to have been problematic. All interviewees said that they had not faced any integration difficulties once back with their family and village. The average stay of two months allowed them to keep alive communications and links with relatives.

Global evaluation of the programme

The outstanding majority of women (87%) felt satisfied with their temporal migratory experience and with the functioning of the programme. Only 13% expressed an ambiguous or poor evaluation, and most of them were concerned about the short period of time they would be working in Huelva.



When asked about their proposals to improve the programme, the most frequent answer was the demand for longer stays (57%), followed by a wish to obtain residence permits (23%) and to travel to

Huelva accompanied by their families (10%). Other minor proposals were: ‘They should notify us, before we leave, whether they are going or not to count on us next year’, ‘We should be given a Schengen visa’ and ‘We should not pay Social Security contributions if we stay here for a short period’. A good percentage of workers (37%) expressed opinions about a variety of organisational aspects related to the administrative steps they had to follow in Morocco to take part in the programme or in order to return to Huelva the following year. They complained about the distance to the ANAPEC office, always located in towns, since all the women taking part in the programme were rural residents. In many cases they had to travel to ANAPEC offices more than once and were not always satisfied with the attention received there.

Almost all of the women (94%) were confident about their chances of migrating again to Huelva the following year in spite of the fact that the size of the programme has been reduced due to the Spanish economic downturn and the return of Spaniards to temporary agricultural jobs.

8. Is circularity good and for whom? The opinion of stakeholders

The impact on the Spanish economy of circular migration between Spain and Morocco is very high in the case of Huelva, while its importance in Almeria and Catalonia is limited and negligible in the rest of the country. Huelva’s farmers –at least those who have large properties and are heavily dependent on employed manpower– are deeply concerned about the reliable supply of manpower. It is common to hear statements such as ‘circular migration from Morocco has meant “salvation” for my business’ and ‘promoting circular migration from Morocco has been one of the best things we have done’. Circular legal migration ensures the provision of an experienced workforce at the start and throughout the campaign. For this reason employers and the political authorities are worried about return. If there is no massive return to Morocco once each campaign finishes, the supply of experienced workers can be lost. Furthermore, the cost of new selections, training and recruitment can be very high and the whole system or procedure of circular migration can lose social and political legitimacy.

Interviews with local, regional and national Spanish authorities show a broad consensus about the advantages of circular migration, to the extent that the local economies largely depend on the seasonal provision of a workforce in the agricultural sector and the procedures guarantee that migration is conducted legally while providing social rights and equal treatment to immigrants and reducing uncertainties among employers.

In the quest for legitimacy, local authorities and employers frequently refer to circular migration or recruitment at source as a ‘good act’, an opportunity for women to earn and save money to help their families in Morocco. A member of an employers’ association from Lleida said that they seriously regretted having finished recruitment in Morocco, because it was akin to ‘social work’: they realised that the women recruited were very poor but had made useful investments for their families. At a local level, it is interesting to note that some citizens rejected ‘circular migration’ due to the high levels of unemployment in the region.

Spanish associations, NGOs and trade unions that deal with seasonal migrants remarked on two points concerning circular migrants and the advantages of circular migration. All underlined that circular migration allowed Moroccan women to earn a considerable amount of money (compared with that they could gain in Morocco) over a brief period of time. However, they acknowledged that it is not enough to have a relevant impact on the development of their places of origin. Moreover, an NGO that organises training courses to help women to invest their earnings admitted that not many women enrolled in it. The second point concerns the knowledge or skills that they can gain during their period of work. This is supposed to be another positive repercussion of circular migration and it does not have to do only with technical or labour skills in the agricultural sector but with social and cultural

skills. A negative aspect of the seasonal migratory work of Moroccan women is their low level of social integration in Spain. Due to their lack of fluency in (or complete ignorance of) Spanish, their short period of stay and their residence in collective lodgings scattered in the countryside, interaction with local people is very scant. Workers visit villages from time to time, but they limit their visit to buy or solve personal affairs. Town councils and associations organise training courses and intercultural activities in order to promote interaction and friendly relations and these experiences seem to be positive but they should be broadened so that all workers can enrol in language courses if they want to.

On the Moroccan side, among interviewees the evaluation of circular migration is very similar and broadly positive.¹³ However, few of the stakeholders interviewed had accurate information concerning circular migration to Spain, as circularity is a feature of only a very minor part of Moroccan migration to Spain. Only those directly involved in the management of circular migration or in research on it have enough information and the criteria for evaluating the experience. They share the evaluation of present circularity as having a positive but too limited effect, due to the small number of workers involved and to the short periods they spend in Spain. The indirect impact on professional training or cultural change is also small. An important limitation is the absence of a professional career as workers develop the same tasks no matter the years they take part in the agricultural campaigns. Hence, circular migration is relevant and positive in the lives of those women who take part in it, but is hardly a tool for local or even family development. It may help children's schooling and even allows the beginning of some small businesses, but most women lack the skills required. According to a survey conducted by ANAPEC, only 6% of the women involved in circular migration start an investment project.¹⁴

Moroccan stakeholders would like to extend the scope of circular migration to other geographical areas and to longer periods of stay. Moreover, they demand greater stability, as workers do not know if they are going to be recruited during the following campaign.

The issue of the family and social consequences of the absence of mothers during certain months of year has been included in all interviews with Moroccan workers or stakeholders. The opinion of women has already been expressed above. Stakeholders do not have clear information about the effects of the absence and some of them give what can be described as a common-sense answer: children stay with close relatives, but no one can take care of children as their mothers would. The lack of empirical research in this field does not allow us to go much further. Several Moroccans who were interviewed pointed to a different problem: many husbands reject their wives' participation in seasonal work in Spain for cultural reasons. In fact, the unease of husbands seems to pose a greater challenge to the circular experience than the care of children. Moroccan villages are still traditional and patriarchal and the departure of a married woman to work in a foreign country can be seen as a sign of the husband's incompetence or even of the woman's indecent behaviour. Sources also relate cases of husbands who marry other women while their first wives are in Spain.

¹³ This positive evaluation contrasts with the negative position of certain media and analysts in Morocco who qualify the discrimination in favour of mothers with small children as unacceptable and immoral, and reject the Spanish insistence on ensuring the return to Morocco of seasonal workers. See, for instance, Messaoudi (2008).

¹⁴ "Migration et Développement. La lettre d'Information de la Division placement International_ANAPEC, n. 7, December 2009, p. 2.

9. Concluding remarks and policy proposals

Circular migration between Morocco and Spain is currently restricted to a very narrow labour niche, the temporary agricultural work concentrated in the province of Huelva, with a minor presence in Almería and Lleida. Despite the geographical proximity between the two countries and the large number of Moroccan immigrants on Spanish soil, at more than 750,000 people, circular migration characterises only a minimal part of the migratory phenomenon. Other forms of circularity found in close and similar countries also related with Morocco, as Italy, are not present in Spain due to a variety of geographical and institutional reasons. The self-employed Moroccan immigrant involved in trade between Italy and Morocco is, in Spain, a commuter who crosses the border daily at Ceuta or Melilla. There is no legal provision for gaining a residence permit on the basis of self-employed activity. Foreign street vendors, a group which includes many Moroccans in Italy, are in Spain almost exclusively Sub-Saharan (or, on the coast, young people from other EU countries).

Circularity was a relevant trait when irregularity and lack of labour inspections or police controls allowed the free movement of Moroccan workers between the two countries, i.e., during the 1990s. But the long experience of more than 12 years of irregular Moroccan immigration in Spain (since the beginning of the 90s until at least 2002) and the institutional fear of opening up of new forms of legal entry that could become doors to irregular immigration (be it of Moroccan, Latin Americans or any others) have caused a very cautious normative approach to immigration. Even the first experience of organised temporary migration in the strawberry fields of Huelva, in 2004, implemented in the framework of the general accord on migrant labour signed between Spain and Morocco in 2001, confirmed these fears and stressed the cautious approach. The 2004 experience was a failure from several perspectives as 60% of recruited workers did not return to Morocco and became irregular migrants in Spain or other European countries, and many of them did not even take part in the agricultural work they were expected to do. That experience led both Moroccan and Spanish counterparts to revise the procedures, methods and criteria used for the recruitment of workers and to agree upon the present norms which select women who are mothers of small children. As a matter of fact not all the women who participate in the temporary works in Huelva are mothers and not all the mothers have small children, but this reform has allowed the continuity of the program as the percentage of non-return has descended to the 8%.

Hence, circular migration between Morocco and Spain, either as spontaneous movement or as the result of specific policies, occupy by now a marginal space. Spontaneous circular migration is severely curtailed by immigration normative, as the Implementation Rules of the Law on Foreigners does not allow the renovation of the residence permit to those who spend more than six months out of Spain, be in a single or various stays during a year. On the other hand organized circular migration is restricted to just one type of labour and it is anything more than temporary migration repeated during years.

Both the results of the interviews to workers involved in this temporary migration as the opinions of entrepreneurs, trade unions, immigrant associations and public institutions in Morocco and Spain show a global positive evaluation of the process although some minor criticisms are expressed. The most important demand related to it, from the Moroccan perspective, is its enlargement in the time and the space, i.e., the implementation of similar programmes in other Spanish geographical or agricultural areas which would result in the contract of more workers during more time.

The impact of the current circular migration in the development of the Moroccan rural areas where the workers come from is very limited due to the small number of workers involved and to the short periods they spend in Spain. Although salaries paid in the agricultural works in Spain are high in comparison with the average income of rural population in Morocco, they are not big enough as to cause a relevant effect in economic development. The low education level which features most employed women, many of them illiterate, renders more difficult the investment of earned income into

new businesses. The indirect impact on professional training or cultural change seems to be small but it is not well known.¹⁵

The economic crisis which hit Spain in 2008 and which since then has provoked a deep fall in the employment rate and a return of Spaniards to previously abandoned activities, as the temporary agricultural works, renders unrealistic any short term proposal of extension of temporary migration to new agricultural or other sector areas. As the future of Spanish labour market remains uncertain due to the difficulty to absorb those 4.5 million unemployed workers (20% of the active population, the biggest rate among OCDE countries), all proposals of this kind of extension must contemplate a long term perspective and be understood on the eventual context of new economic and employment growths. For these reasons the policy recommendations included here refer to two different stages, the present one, where some normative and institutional changes can be introduced to improve and extend the scope of circularity between Spain and Morocco, and the future, post-crisis one.

The first short term proposal is **the annulment of the six-month clause** which nowadays prevents regular immigrants to spend more than six months out of Spain. This clause was included in the Implementation Rules of the Law on Foreigners in year 2000, a time when scarcities of manpower were of relevant concern among entrepreneurs in several sectors and especially among farmers in the intensive agriculture areas of the Mediterranean coast. The objective pursued by policy makers drafting the Rules was to assure that immigrants who received a work and residence permit, by then limited during the first year to a province and activity sector, would in fact work there during at least six months a year. During those years, the first half of the 2000 decade, intensive agriculture was, together with domestic service, the main channel of entrance of irregular migration into the job market. From those sectors immigrants regularized their situation (using the extraordinary regularization processes or the ordinary ones) and very frequently left agriculture or domestic service to find work in other less strenuous jobs, be in the construction sector (males) or in the catering and trade sectors (males and females). This clause, that could be functional to Spanish labour market needs in the first 2000s, lacks justification in a phase of high unemployment and prevents circular migration. Following the same reasoning, **the clause which prevents permanent immigrants ('long residents') to spend more than 12 months out of EU territory as they risk losing their status, should also be suppressed.** This clause incorporates into the Spanish norms the 2003 EU Directive on the status of third country nationals long residents. The EC Communication on circular migration (COM 2007 - 248 final) proposed to enlarge this period to two or three years but the Commission has not presented a concrete proposal to modify the Directive on this aspect.

Temporary migration programs could improve their impact on the welfare and integration of involved migrants through the **improvement of the collective lodgements, the enlargement of the offer of Spanish language courses and the development of more initiatives devoted to promote social interchange.** Finally, **better and more complete information about their social rights** should be offered to them. Often Moroccan immigrants taking part in the temporary migration programs ignore that they can transfer to Morocco the social benefits they have acquired in Spain (as contributors to the Social Security funds). The accord signed between both countries allows this transfer of social contributions but most temporary immigrants do not apply for it. The improvement of the information offered to migrants should be a shared job of Moroccan and Spanish institutions, although an important part of it, that related with procedures and red tape in Morocco can only be provided by Moroccan employment services. The EU funded M@RES project, continuation of the AENEAS project, include among its objectives that of forming Moroccan public employees in their job as advisers and informants of immigrants.

¹⁵ The report conducted by CIREM among circular Moroccan women once they had returned to Morocco signals the increasing of self-confidence and autonomy as the main cultural impact of their experience. L'Observateur, 4-10 February 2011

The strengthening of Moroccan employment service (ANAPEC), has been a prerequisite for the smooth functioning of the labour accord between Morocco and Spain while, on the contrary, the attempt to recruit temporary immigrants from Senegal failed due to bad functioning of the institution that acted as interlocutor of the Spanish employers in the selection of workers. Women arrived from Senegal in 2007 to work in the strawberry fields of Huelva did not even know that they were going to do an agricultural work. This experience illustrates the vital need of incorporating institution-building mechanisms in the international cooperation related with immigration.

On the long term, policies to foster circularity between Morocco and Spain should address two problems: the virtual inexistence of qualified Moroccan immigration in Spain and the concentration of temporary migration in the agricultural sector.

The low qualification level of Moroccan immigrants in Spain weakens their position in the labour market, damages the image of Morocco in the Spanish society and diminishes the development impact of eventual circular migration. Due to cultural reasons as the use of French as teaching language in Moroccan technical universities, a good part of graduates with marketable qualifications look and find job in France, Belgium or French-speaking Canada. As stated, 20% of Moroccan immigrants in France or Belgium are university graduates while the percentage in Spain is only 10% (this figure includes post graduate students). Spain should **design programmes to attract Moroccan university students** (the number is now small, 2,590 students in 2009) offering them scholarships and the opportunity to work in Spain during several years after their graduation, with the condition that they would return to Morocco afterwards, while the entrance to the Spanish (or, better, European) labour market should be opened again for them during short periods along their professional life in order to update their skills and knowledge or establish professional or business networks. This frame would benefit both countries, avoiding the brain draining and contributing to the Moroccan development.

In the field of medium and low qualified jobs, circular migration should be promoted in the future (in a period of employment growth) in the tourist sector, where seasonality is marked. This sector –hotels, restaurants, bars, car renting...– is fragmented in small business, frequently family owned, with a high rate of informality, features that hinder the collective drafting of labour recruitment plans of the kind of those implemented in Huelva. But, despite these shortcomings, minor normative changes could allow the circular migration in this sector: the currently in force Implementation Rules of the Law on Foreigners defines a special residence permit for ‘temporary or campaign works’ whose terms and conditions are designed to fit agricultural works. They, for instance, require the employer to provide housing to the immigrant and to organise and pay his or her travel. These conditions would not be necessary in the tourist industry where salaries are higher and, contrary with the agriculture sector, it is usually located in areas with abundant offer of apartments and flats to rent. Hence **a new type of temporary permit designed to fit the tourist sector should** be designed.¹⁶

¹⁶ It must be stressed that this proposal could only be implemented in the frame of the recovery of Spanish economy, the creation of new employment and the effective implementation of measures against irregular migration and irregular labour.

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ANNEX

Stakeholders interviewed

N° of interview	Date	Organisation	Position	Place of interview
1	16/04/2010	Spanish Ministry of labour Affairs	Former High Official	Madrid
2	26/04/2010	Ibn Batuta (Migrants' Association)	Local Coordinator	Madrid
3	27/04/2010	ASISI (Migrants' Association)	President	Madrid
4	17/05/2010	Cartaya Town Council	Official in charge of European projects	Cartaya (Huelva)
5	18/05/2010	Cartaya Town Council	Official in charge of social affairs	Cartaya (Huelva)
6	19/05/2010	ACCEM (NGO)	Local Coordinator	Huelva
7	19/05/2010	ASAJA (Employers' association)	In charge of labour and recruitment affairs	Huelva
8	20/05/2010	CEPAIM (NGO)	Local Coordinator	Cartaya (Huelva)
9	20/05/2010	HUELVA ACOGE (NGO)	Local Coordinator	Huelva
10	21/05/2010	Spanish Government Sub-Delegation	Official in charge of labour affairs	Huelva
11	21/05/2010	UGT (Trade Union)	In charge of agricultural sector	Huelva
12	22/05/2010	Employer	...	Cartaya (Huelva)
13	22/05/2010	Employer	...	Cartaya (Huelva)
14	29/05/2010	Spanish Embassy in Morocco	In charge of labour affairs	Madrid
15	31/05/2010	ALMERIA ACOGE (NGO)	Local coordinator	El Ejido (Almería)

16	31/05/2010	COAG (Employers' association)	In charge of labour and recruitment affairs	Puebla de la Vcar (Almera)
17	01/06/2010	COHEXPAL (Employers' association)	In charge of labour and recruitment affairs	Almera
18	01/06/2010	Spanish Government Sub-Delegation	Official in charge of labour affairs	Almera
19	01/06/2010	Moroccan National Employment Service	Former High Official	Casablanca
20	17/06/2010	Catalan Government/ Labour Department	Official in charge of international recruitment	Barcelona
21	16/09/2010	JARC (Employers' association)	In charge of labour and recruitment affairs	Lleida (Catalunya)
22	21/09/2010	CERED (Research Centre)	Specialist in migrations	Rabat
23	21/09/2010	Fondation Orient-Occident (Social Foundation)	In charge of formation program	Rabat
24	22/09/2010	Moroccan Ministry of Labour Affairs	High Official of labour Affairs	Rabat
25	23/09/2010	Council of Moroccan Community	High Official	Rabat
26	23/09/2010	Ministry of Moroccan Community	High Official	Rabat
27	24/09/2010	CIREM (Research Foundation)	In charge of project formation of migrants	Rabat
28	26/09/2010	UGT (Trade Union)	In charge of international relations	Casablanca
29	27/09/2010	Moroccan Employment Service . ANAPEC	High Official	Casablanca